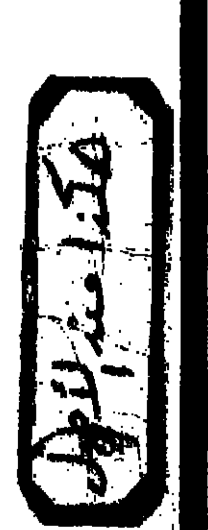


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Gromyko in Bonn for talks with Kohl

Brezhnev's death has reactivated East-West diplomacy. His successor, Yuri Andropov, is worth talking with, and this is a view President Reagan will no doubt share.

America will soon be preparing for next year's Presidential elections and Mr Reagan is sure to feel a summit meeting with the new Soviet leader will be useful for domestic consumption.

This should reassure Western Europeans worried about the trend in relations between Moscow and Washington.

Mr Gromyko's visit to Bonn started the ball rolling. Within a single week Moscow kept its options open regardless who wins at the polls in the March general election.

The Soviet government has clearly held its fire on Christian Democratic Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Yet days before Mr Gromyko's visit it gave the Opposition leader and Social Democratic Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel a sterling welcome in Moscow.

Herr Vogel in Moscow was clearly electioneering. The Kremlin lent him every encouragement without going so far as to snub the current Bonn government.

So Soviet policy on Germany is astutely twin-track in character, and in more ways than one. After visiting Bonn Mr Gromyko stopped over in East Berlin.

The visit paid by the Soviet Foreign Minister nonetheless testified to the importance the Soviet government continues to attach to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Bonn has been Moscow's foremost contact in the West ever since the Soviet Union has no longer been able to negotiate pragmatically with the United States, which in the Soviet view has been ever since the end of the Nixon-Kissinger era.

Soviet ties with Britain are at rock bottom, while President Mitterrand of France, with his mistrustful attitude toward the Soviet Union, has dispensed with the independent French *Ostpolitik* his predecessors favoured.

The French leader's outlook seems to combine domestic policy considerations and a personal dislike, but it looks as though ties with Paris may be under review.

France's Foreign Minister, Claude Cheysson, is to pay Moscow his first visit at the beginning of February.

Japan, finally, does good business with the Russians but keeps political ties to a diplomatic minimum.

Missiles were naturally the main item on the agenda during Mr Gromyko's visit to Bonn. Moscow was keen to push its view, wielding the stick and the carrot.

The carrot consisted of concessions if Bonn were to dispense with missile modernisation, coupled with the prospect of spectacular business deals.

The stick was the threat of countermeasures in the armaments sector, coupled with gloomy forecasts of a deterioration in ties.

Much of this was mere jawboning, but it seldom fails to have an effect on the Germans.



Foreign Minister Genscher welcoming Mr Gromyko to Bonn
(Photo: Sven Simon)

The change of government in Bonn has not brought about any clear change in relations between the two countries, so there is no reason why the new Bonn government should not view the situation with self-assurance.

For the Soviet Union, Bonn may fairly argue, the arguments in favour of continued cordial ties with the Federal Republic continue to outweigh those in favour of confrontation with Russia's major Western neighbour.

So it was only right for Mr Gromyko's attention to be drawn to a number of sore points in German-Soviet relations.

Repatriation of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union is one such point. Fewer exit visas are issued, and waiting-lists grow longer.

Economic ties is another. Germany will increasingly be in the red in trade ties as Soviet gas exports gain momentum. In the long term the balance must be redressed by large-scale Soviet orders from German firms.

German companies have too often come second-best in trade with the East lately, especially in competition with French firms.

Peter Seidlitz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 January 1983)

IN THIS ISSUE

Wörner upset by Congress

Arms cooperation with the United States has always been a sore point with Bonn Defence Ministers. None has yet succeeded in selling America even a single complete weapon system.

US politicians may have made declarations of intent to take arms cooperation seriously as a two-way traffic and to buy European equipment for the US armed forces.

But these fine words have invariably come to naught under pressure from the US arms lobby.

In return for heavy Bundeswehr buying in the United States all that has been sold to the US armed forces is parts, machine tools, telecommunications equipment and the like.

Even this trickle is now to be brought to a halt by the Congressional ban on the purchase abroad of arms and equipment containing special metals.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner is deeply disappointed and has harshly criticised the Congressdecision.

He will have been thinking less in terms of the low level of current arms trading than of the virtual ban on future cooperation.

If the United States rules out all orders in return, be they ever so symbolic, Herr Wörner will find it difficult to persuade the Bundestag to approve arms purchases from America.

Yet many of the Bundeswehr's land-, sea- and air-based missiles are US-manufactured, and there is no immediate alternative.

So Herr Wörner's criticism of the US is only secondarily tub-thumping for German economic interests.

He is evidently keen to prevent a decline in confidence in the United States that Germans may well come to feel if America continues in this way to attach greater priority to US economic interests than to Nato unity.

The US arms industry may be heedless of the political glass it has broken, but Congress, to which Herr Wörner has appealed, ought to show a greater sense of political responsibility.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 January 1983)

Arms control and the man

When the Bonn correspondent of the *New York Times*, John Vinocur, was posted to Paris his parting shot was a precis of his experiences in Germany.

One of his jibes at the Germans in a critical essay was that where America was concerned they tended to be notorious name-droppers.

Politically interested Germans may well list people they know in the United States but Mr Vinocur fails to realise that Germans are bound to be keen to know who thinks about them and contributes toward policy decisions on Germany in America.

US officials concerned with Germany and Central Europe may be a minor aspect of German-American ties, but here in Germany importance is attached to it.

Names such as those encountered among US arms control diplomats, Rostow, Staar, Nitze and Rowny for instance, have long been firmly established.

They are all experienced men. All know their Central Europe; it is where they hail from ancestrally. None of them can be suspected of harbouring illusions about the Soviet Union.

The men who will take over from them are half their age and from a generation that can be statistically shown to have very little idea of Europe.

They may be anti-communist in outlook but their views will thus not be as finely graduated as would be desirable for conducting negotiations.

So it is hardly surprising that the enforced resignation of Gene Rostow has not been well received in the European Press.

The real reasons why he resigned are unclear. Senate right-wingers are known to have played a part, with their suspi-

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Nato must live with its contradictions

President Reagan suspects that Warsaw Pact disarmament proposals outlined in the Prague Declaration are at least partly intended to sow the seeds of dissension between America and its allies in Western Europe.

So he is sending his Vice-President, George Bush, on a tour of Europe to show he feels close consultations with his Nato partners are a cornerstone of the Atlantic alliance.

Has the penny dropped in the White House? Dissension does not need first to be sown; it has long luxuriated, and partly because of far too much unpremeditated talk by leading members of the Reagan administration.

Like members of the Carter administration, they have said much that has had a serious bearing on the entire North Atlantic pact without having been dealt with beforehand in consultations with fellow-members of Nato.

It is clear that the forthright talk of a Brzezinski or a Weinberger, to name a particularly noteworthy hardliner in each of the two administrations, is bound to give rise to mistrust in Europe.

For geographical reasons alone there is a much more vital interest in coexistence and detente on this side of the Atlantic than in the United States, especially the west coast that is home to Mr Reagan and most of his associates.

A few months ago even the Nato C-in-C in Europe, General Bernard Rogers, voiced alarm about the initially shrill and militant tone of foreign policy rhetoric as used in Washington, and General Rogers is an American himself.

Yet even if leading Americans were in future to sound a note of greater moderation and to show signs of readiness and ability to compromise at the Geneva missile talks the tension and irritation that are so often apparent in dealings between Western Europe and its superpower these days would be no means have been eliminated.

Misunderstandings are too deep-seated on both sides, and clashes no-one would have dreamt of in 1949, when Nato was set up, have grown too serious.

Back in 1949 the Cold War ensured that the fronts were clear, while the absolute nuclear superiority enjoyed by the United States ensured a feeling of security that was totally unproblematic.

Besides, the Europeans in their war-ravaged countries felt it was a matter of course to allow the Americans the leading role.

They were economically powerful and, as Marshall aid clearly showed, willing to lend a helping hand.

Nowadays a sense of economic rivalry has emerged, intensified by the general crisis, and keywords such as steel and grain are all that need be said to illustrate how the Nato countries are competing for sales markets.

By trying to impose an embargo on the Soviet gas pipeline deal with Western Europe the White House has even succeeded in impressing on the Europeans their common interests.

Clashes such as these stick out a mile, but the alliance is burdned no less heavily on both sides of the Atlantic by mutual prejudice, with the Reagan administration merely making matters worse.

Europeans have long tended somewhat disparagingly to look down on the Americans as lacking in civilisation and being too brash and given to using their elbows.

US budget planning aimed at thoroughly stripping welfare spending to boost military expenditure was all that was needed!

At the same time the average American, who as a rule is poorly briefed on world affairs, tends to see Western Europe increasingly as a gang of untrustworthy neutralists.

This view may have been amended since the appearance on the US dometic scene of an increasingly powerful nuclear freeze movement (at least among supporters of the freeze movement).

A further factor is that since the withdrawal from former colonial possessions and interests by Britain and France it has been increasingly up to the United States to assume the role of world policeman and take up cudgels against Soviet tendencies toward aggression.

So Eliot P. Cohen of Harvard says Nato is in a state of permanent crisis that seems sure to mean the end of the pact in its present structure sooner or later.

The treatment he recommends in an article printed simultaneously in *Foreign Affairs* and *Europa-Archiv* is for America, while maintaining its nuclear presence in Europe, to drastically thin out its troop strength on this side of the Atlantic.

That would enable the Americans to make troops available for boosting US commitments outside Nato's operational area.

He does not even rule out a helping hand from Washington in setting up Anglo-German or Anglo-French forces equipped with medium-range missiles.

But this would presuppose that Western Europe took its defence into its own hands at last.

These are ideas this writer feel are more likely to heighten the Atlantic dilemma than to resolve it.

Nato will have to live with its contradictions until such time as its members succeed in striking a common balance between military firmness and political flexibility.

The only way to resolve matters would be for Europeans to revert to integration and Americans to revert to moderation.

Felix Hartlieb

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 11 January 1983)

Continued from page 1

cions that the State Department is not sound enough on principles.

They were certainly to blame for the refusal to approve Mr Grey as Mr Rostow's deputy after his name had been put forward for nearly a year.

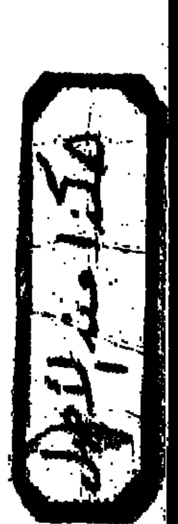
Secretary of State Shultz, a man in whom Europeans have confidence, says it is merely a matter of streamlining responsibilities for arms control.

This may be reassuring news but it does not entirely offset the detrimental effect of a reshuffle at this stage in the proceedings.

European observers are beginning to wonder whether President Reagan is still capable of heeding advice and how the struggle to gain his ear will progress.

Germans would be unlikely to devote much thought to US government appointments were it not that so much depended on them for their country.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 January 1983)



Genscher backs EEC securi[ty] concept at Strasbourg

If we want to remain Germans, Italians, British or French, we will have to decide in time to become Europeans, Franz Josef Strauss wrote many years ago.

It was a view shared by Konrad Adenauer and reiterated in Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's inaugural speech to the European Assembly in Strasbourg as chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers.

Herr Genscher dealt at length with the aim of a common security policy in this light.

"More depends on the success of this process of European integration than living standards," he said. "The future of our basic political order is at stake."

This reaffirmation of Bonn's commitment to the European idea was widely welcomed by the 434 elected Euro-MPs from the 10 Common Market countries.

British MEPs, Tories especially, of course, but Labour men too, wished Herr Genscher all the best as chairman of the Council of Ministers for the first half of this year.

Even Rudi Arndt, a Social Democratic Euro-MP from Frankfurt, assured him of the support of the Socialist group at Strasbourg.

Herr Arndt was unable to resist the temptation to engage in a little election campaigning for German domestic consumption before offering Herr Genscher Socialist support.

At a time when there are differences of emphasis between America and Europe on security policy issues such as the Siberian gas pipeline contract or economic sanctions against the East, there must be no doubts as to Bonn's continued earnest on ties with the West.

Herr Genscher took good care to forestall any such impression with his statement.

He also said that a "strong and united Europe that clearly and constructively sees to its own interests in the alliance" would be a valuable and predictable partner for the United States during his chairmanship of the EEC.

It was worth noting, although scant notice was paid to it by the general public, that Herr Genscher as chairman of the European Community made a number of statements on security policy.

They were statements that must, by and large, have met with the approval of the other nine Common Market countries, otherwise he would not have been able to make them as chairman of the Council of Ministers.

They amounted to initial answers to the disarmament and arms control proposals made by the new Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, and the Warsaw Pact.

Herr Genscher has embarked on what might be termed a fog-clearing campaign in the security policy sector, especially in connection with talk of a treaty renouncing the use of force between Nato and the Warsaw Pact.

The value of any such treaty would be strictly limited, as an initiative launched by Otto von Habsburg, the German CSU Euro-MP, has shown at Strasbourg.

In 1940, when the Soviet Union, in league with Hitler, annexed the Baltic states it broke non-aggression pledges given to all three countries.

The 1920 peace treaties of D[…] Riga and Moscow guaranteed the[…] lability of Estonian, Latvian an[…] thuanian territory and everlasting[…] between the Soviet Union and all[…]

Continued Soviet occupation o[…] Baltic states remained to this d[…] breach of the Helsinki CSCE Final[…]

Stalin's days may be over, b[…] Warsaw Pact's offer of a trea[…] nouncing the use of force must n[…] allowed to distract attention fro[…] issue that is really at stake.

The real problem is the lack of i[…] ance of military power in Europe.

What the European Community[…] for in foreign policy cooperation[…] Genscher said, was arms control m[…] that were in keeping with the prin[…] of equality and parity.

The EEC has thus taken up form[…] that are constantly used by the com[…] nist countries.

It has also rejected Mr Andro[…] offer to simply reduce the Soviet[…] arsenal to the number of Anglo-Fr[…] missile systems: 162.

The nuclear armaments of B[…] and France are, for one, less up-to[…] than the SS-20. Anglo-French sy[…] also have only one warhead.

The 162 Soviet SS-20 missiles[…] tems with a triple warhead, would[…] a payload of 486 nuclear devic[…] three times as many as Britain[…] France.

So there can be no question o[…] Soviet offer entailing either equali[…] parity.

As an offer it is by no means en[…] quite apart from the British and Fr[…] nuclear deterrents not being inte[…] for the defence of Europe.

Besides, they cannot be dealt wi[…] the agenda of the Geneva missile[…] until such time as Britain and Fr[…] agree.

Herr Genscher told Euro-MPs[…] while Bonn was in the chair no s[…] would be left unturned in the bi[…] make headway toward European U[…] by means of a European Act.

This move was proposed two y[…] ago by the German and Italian For[…] Ministers, Herr Genscher and Si[…] Colombo. Drafting a European sec[…] concept is a cornerstone of the idea.

"Europe," Herr Genscher said[…] Strasbourg, "must not become an[…] ject; it must be a subject of an a[…] common security and p[…] policy."

Hermann Bo[…]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und[…] 14 January[…])

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■ GENERAL ELECTION

Credibility is Helmut Kohl's strong point

[S]atirical magazines have sought to destroy Chancellor Helmut Kohl's [im]age. One has lampooned him on its [co]ver as an over-ripe pear.

They are trying to present Herr Kohl [as] a country bumpkin who even three [mo]nths after assuming office has not [ye]t managed to get across either at [ho]me or abroad.

Yet world public opinion holds the [ne]w Chancellor in high regard, and in [B]onn he certainly does not give the im[p]ression of a fruit that has fallen from [th]e tree and is likely to burst under the [le]ast pressure.

The intellectual condescension with [wh]ich Helmut Kohl has persistently [be]en treated by leftist papers (it has [st]uck to him like glue) is showing signs [o]f cracking.

Remarkably, it was not German [pu]blic opinion that first discovered his [st]erling qualities. They were discovered [ab]road even before they dawned on his [f]ollowers, not to mention his natural [en]emies.

On his very first visit abroad as [C]hancellor, in Paris only a few hours [af]ter assuming office, Herr Kohl cut [su]ch a fine figure with France's Socia[li]st President, François Mitterrand, as [t]o surprise even those who knew him [m]ore closely.

In Washington, Konrad Adenauer [w]as the only other Chancellor to be [a]sked by the US President to dine with [hi]s family at the White House.

[Th]is departure from the originally [pl]anned protocol evidences the warmth [th]e Reagans felt towards the new Bonn [C]hancellor.

It naturally also bears witness to the [P]resident's wish to wipe out the irrita[ti]on that had marred German-American [rel]ations, a legacy left behind by the [ot]her Helmut, Helmut Schmidt, due to [hi]s schoolmasterly behaviour in Wash[in]gton.

Nobody can say that Kohl travelled [ab]road on a cloud of general approval [a]nd with the full backing of his fellow-[co]untrymen.

In fact, there was a widespread air of [fo]reboding in Germany. The feeling [wa]s that he would fail to make the [gr]ade socially. Some pinned the false [la]bel of gaucheness on him and now [fe]ared he would be an embarrassment.

The very opposite happened. The [po]sitive response that came from [ab]road actually helped to boost the na[tio]n's self-esteem.

This is the more surprising consider[ing] that Helmut Kohl, who has always [re]garded himself (and repeatedly said [so] in public) as a middle class man of [th]e people, did not exactly seem the [rig]ht person to convey the German [ima]ge to the world.

The point is that the Germans have [al]ways found it difficult to pinpoint [w]hich of their qualities are seen as at[tra]ctive and which are regarded as re[pu]gnant.

I feel sure that the upright middle [cl]ass Helmut gets across better on the [in]ternational stage than Helmut the Lip.

In a *Time* interview Kohl drew atten[tion] to the fact that the idealism of [He]gel and Feuerbach was more deeply [roo]ted in German consciousness than [mo]st people think.

Who knows, perhaps he came closer to discovering the secret of his success than he himself realised?

If there is anything that can explain the sympathy he effortlessly earned himself in foreign capitals, it can only be the fact that he represents a bit of German bourgeoisie that actually no longer exists.

Amid the toughness of today's policymaking and the brutality and disillusionment that go with it, something he still has to master, Kohl subconsciously symbolises to the nation the vestiges of nineteenth-century solid bourgeois dependability.

We have to journey far back in time to find these qualities. The journey takes us beyond Adenauer's republic that was struggling to find a suitable place in the fabric of things.

We have to journey beyond the Nazi regime (that dishonoured and crushed the best qualities of German bourgeoisie) and even beyond Weimar, an intellectualised and essentially non-bourgeois republic.

What is it that (at least at times over the past 200 years) earns this nation sympathy in the world even though Germany has never found it easy to make itself understood by other peoples?

Or, to put it cautiously and with a pinch of self-deprecation, what is it that the world dislikes least about us?

It is the Germany of solidity, a quality much maligned by misguided progressive elements. It is our somewhat romantic uprightness and perhaps also our rather well-read, somewhat priggish bourgeoisie.

Only such a Germany can hope to overcome its social decay and gain the confidence of the West, something the Federal Republic of Germany has been striving for with less than unqualified success.

Germany forfeited much of its credibility in the last years of the Schmidt era, particularly in the United States. And credibility at home and abroad is Helmut Kohl's most important asset. He would be a nonentity if he were not credible and if he did not convey the certainty that he will always remain so. It is no coincidence that he got to where he is now. His future will depend on whether or not the electorate is imaginative enough to recognise the hidden motive force behind his rise, a rise that took time and had its setbacks. But less than two months before Germany goes to the polls in March it is still far removed from such a realisation. The decision to call such early elections at the inopportune moment of a winter of recession has caused a great deal of confusion in the CDU camp.

But the campaign strategists have sound arguments with which to back up the decision. And if world opinion is anything to go by, it would have been unwise of Kohl to have cancelled the poll for whatever reason.

For no other Chancellor has a bourgeois personality make-up spelled the same moral obligation.

Self-discipline that demands more from oneself than from others, a hallmark of liberal conservatism, is an essential part of idealism's heritage, even at the risk of having to pay a prohibitive price to a misguided and not always perceptive public opinion.

Those who ridicule the willingness to take such a risk as amateurish nevertheless subconsciously realise the psychological effectiveness of such an attitude.

What Kohl will be doing is essentially to ask the electorate whether it is prepared to restore the civic virtues for which the Germans were once lauded or whether it holds that it is already too late to revert to the political realism from which the nation has tried to escape in the past few years.

Kohl is confident he will win a majority for realism on 6 March.

But the directness with which he pursues this aim indicates his conviction that, should he lose, many things in this country would become irreversible for good.

Some Germans might fail to realise this. But those who look on this country from the outside are beginning to grasp it.

They watched developments in Bonn during the Schmidt era with rising concern, noting how Germany, which had arduously been integrated in the West, embarked on a foreign policy course of compromise with all the symptoms of overbearing self-assurance.

Even though the Germans might not have become fully aware of what happened to them with the change of government in Bonn, people abroad have.

This change has greatly helped to stabilise Nato and as a result of the change Bonn is once more pursuing a policy in keeping with its international weight.

Heinz Barth

(Die Welt, 12 January 1983)

President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl at the White House (Photo: Poly-Press)

All parties poised for campaign

Even before the President actually dissolved the Bundestag, the parties had named most of their constituency candidates, laid their campaign strategies and started a campaign about the campaign.

All parties will have to cope with an unaccustomed winter campaign. Another unaccustomed feature lies in the fact that the CSU is now also trying to project a "national" rather than purely Bavarian image.

But the CSU's cohesion in matters of manpower showed some cracks as it began its closed-doors conference in Bad Kreuth on 7 January.

The FDP's campaign kicked off with the party's traditional 6 January meeting in Stuttgart and a press conference given by FDP Secretary-General Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer.

The SPD will hold its campaign congress in Dortmund on 21 January when Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel has returned from his visits to Washington and Moscow.

All parties will have less money to spend than in 1980, though the FDP has already announced that it would not be "tight-fisted" since its parliamentary survival is at stake.

The SPD wants to spend only half the 1980 amount, and CDU general secretarye Heiner Geissler has announced that his party will make do with DM29.8m. This is DM8m less than in 1980, which is to be offset by the advantage of being the party in power.

The CDU's main slogan will be "Work, Peace, Future — Together We'll Make It." Its campaign will be launched by a rally in Ludwigshafen to be addressed by leader Helmut Kohl and general secretary Geissler.

The first CDU advertisements hit the press on 10 January, and the first posters will be out on the 15th.

The pivotal point of the campaign is Kohl himself. The slogan here is: "This Chancellor Spells Confidence."

The slogan with which the CDU has homed in on the SPD is: "Unemployment, Debts, Bankruptcies — Not SPD Again."

But apart from using the media, the CDU also wants to step up personal discussions with its members and followers.

Like the SPD, the CDU will publish three topical campaign papers to reach every household (circulation 25 million).

Meanwhile, the campaign itself has become a campaign issue with the SPD going to the Constitutional Court in a bid to establish that the CDU has used government funds to promote its image in official government public relations work.

The CDU, on the other hand, accuses the SPD of rejecting a fair play agreement because it refuses to keep its campaign within a businesslike framework.

The fact is that all four Bundestag parties have welcomed a campaign agreement, though the SPD has rejected an arbitration committee similar to that of 1980, arguing that issues brought before the committee only added publicity to the defendant's case.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 January 1983)



■ POLITICS

Hans-Jochen Vogel does well in Washington

On his visit to Washington SPD Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel wanted to present himself as the man who has the better answers to the questions plaguing his fellow-citizens.

As his companion on the trip and fellow-Social Democrat Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski put it: "We have become more interesting to the Americans since the Hamburg election."

He was probably right, judging by the reception accorded to Vogel and his aides Egon Bahr, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker and Wischnewski.

They were received by just about everybody who was anybody in Washington, from President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz to Defence Secretary Weinberger, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the administration's top disarmament experts.

Acting on the spur of the moment, even former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who has always shown great interest in Germany, joined the talks at one point.

Washington Post writers later said they had never known such a turnout of newsmen as at the press conference given by Vogel.

But the interest Washington showed in Hans-Jochen Vogel should not come as a surprise considering that, since the change of government in Bonn, Germany has been one of the few truly interesting foreign affairs topics in Europe.

The only thing that has outstripped it in reader interest has been the Bulgarian connection with the shooting of the Pope and routine reports on the marital bliss or otherwise of the British royal family.

The questions that occupy Washington's press are:

- Will the Germans swing to the left in the forthcoming election?
- Will the "Greens" take the place of the FDP as the junior coalition partner in a future Bonn government or are they not to be taken seriously as a political force?
- Was Genscher's shift from the SPD to the conservatives a lemming-like move?
- And who is this Hans-Jochen Vogel really?

Washington associates Germany's Social Democrats with such high-calibre names as Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt, whose reputations abroad are unmatched, promoted to some extent by the fact that both speak English fluently.

Vogel's English is a great deal better than that of Chancellor Kohl. And the ever-friendly and tolerant Americans appreciate it when a foreigner makes the effort to conduct discussions and interviews in a language other than his mother tongue.

In this somewhat arduous task Vogel acquitted himself splendidly, especially considering that it was not only the language that caused him trouble but also the topics of discussion.

After all, he has so far in his political career had nothing to do with missiles.

He was unable to come up with an answer to the one question that truly interested his hosts — or at least, the answer he did come up with did not satisfy them.

It was his attitude towards the deployment in Germany of the new generation of intermediate range missiles later this year.

This crucial question that dominated his visit, along with the Geneva disarmament talks, could easily have distorted its perspective.

He could not even go so far as to assure the Americans that he was convinced they were seriously trying to achieve tangible results at the Geneva talks with the Soviets, thus making the deployment of the missiles redundant.

Had he done so, he would have been stripped of a very important campaign catchphrase that would clearly distinguish him from Helmut Kohl. Besides, he is not convinced of the Americans' earnestness on this score.

Though this has not been officially confirmed, there can be no doubt that Shultz, Weinberger and others asked Vogel whether he would follow through with his party's decision to deploy the new missiles by December should the Geneva talks break down.

In any event, giving such assurances would have run counter to his party's latest decision on the issue and probably also to his personal stance.

He was in a difficult position in Washington because his party is playing for time regarding American wishes and yet he had to bend over backwards not to offend his hosts.

It is this wait-and-see attitude on the part of the Social Democrats of the post-Schmidt era that distinguishes them from the conservatives.

If in doubt, a conservative Chancellor would opt for the deployment of the missiles. Given the same doubt, an SPD Chancellor would refuse this if there were any chance that the Geneva talks could still succeed after the year's end deadline. This being so, it is obvious whom the Americans would prefer to see as Chancellor. The formula Hans-Jochen Vogel finally came up with in Washington was that an SPD government in Bonn would review the two-track Nato decision (to deploy the missiles should talks provide no satisfactory results) in the light of the state of the Geneva negotiations in December.

That was is seen by the Americans as being in breach of the decision.

Asked whether the Americans had told Vogel bluntly that they would prefer a CDU Chancellor, one of the members of his entourage said that they had gone out of their way to avoid saying anything of this nature.

In fact, the visit was largely marked by evasive formulations. But there was also some straight talk.

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy, and some of his colleagues are bound to have been interested to learn how the Opposition in Germany assesses Moscow's latest disarmament proposals.

Since the German Social Democrats have always been interested in maintaining contacts with the other superpower Vogel was seen as a mediator between the two superpowers [...] fore the March general election.

This was a function Helmut S[...] did not assume until six years a[...] coming Chancellor.

Vogel and his closest advisers [...] that the Russians' disarmament [...] tions are a major step in the right [...] tion, if for no other reason than [...] they amount to an admission of [...] nuclear supremacy in Europe.

This came after Moscow had [...] tently maintained that there was [...] proximate balance of power a[...] Nato was bent on destroying this [...] brium.

Vogel now expects Washington [...] spond to the Soviet overtures. He [...] ated, some say with a coy sort of [...] that his hosts had entrusted his [...] certain test balloons to be sent [...] ing his subsequent visit to Moscow.

Winfried M[...]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 Janu[...])

Shadow Chancellor Vogel and Secretary of State S[...] Washington

Vogel feted on visit to Moscow

The protocol trappings of a state visit would have been complete had SPD Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel landed at and taken off from Moscow's government airport, Vnukovo.

As it happened, he arrived and left on a regular Lufthansa flight, using the run-of-the-mill civilian airport, and the reception committee was provided by his host, the German-Soviet Friendship Society, rather than by the Kremlin.

But Vogel could easily console himself with the fact that otherwise he was given the treatment usually reserved for heads of government of non-Communist states and East Bloc party bosses, and perhaps politicians held in such high esteem in Russia as Willy Brandt.

Hans-Jochen Vogel was accorded the privilege of a two-and-a-half hour talk with General Secretary Yuri Andropov, who was attended by a politburo hopeful, a member of the General Staff, a deputy foreign minister and a personal assistant.

The fact that the meeting with Andropov took place at the beginning of Vogel's visit is every bit as unusual as the length of the meeting.

The normal procedure is to put the meeting with the top Kremlin man at the end of a visit, as the icing, so to speak.

The departure from the norm lent Vogel's visit a highly political significance.

It appears that Andropov treated Vogel as if he were actually the Chancellor, but this is conjecture because Herr Vogel refused to comment on his visit before having briefed his party and the government (if it wished to be briefed).

The same applies to his talks with Prime Minister Tikhonov, with whom he discussed the more practical aspects of German-Soviet ties.

Both Andropov and Tikhonov probably told him things he was bound to be pleased to hear.

Tikhonov spoke of more mammoth business deals along the lines of the natural gas for pipelines deal. He spoke of a coal liquefaction plant and a liquid gas deal.

Andropov evidently elaborated on the missiles issue, intimating that Moscow was prepared to scrap some of its SS-20 missiles (instead of just shifting them further East).

He probably also provided some details on his proposal to keep his missiles arsenal in the European part of the Soviet Union at about the level of France's and Britain's.

Vogel asked him whether he meant the number of carriers or the number of warheads.

Another indication as to the importance the Kremlin attributed to Vogel's visit was the fact that a reception given by the German ambassador was so well attended.

There were not only by the Soviet leaders normally considered suitable for such occasions in terms of proto[...] such top men as Deputy Prime Mi[...] Kostandov.

There was also Justice Minister [...] bilov, the mayor of Moscow, the [...] Soviet ambassador to Bonn, V[...] Falin, and a number of other l[...] ries.

Western observers were hea[...] comment that this was unpreceden[...]

The attention given to Vogel [...] rounded off by the media. The st[...] levision news accorded the visit [...] place and *Pravda* gave it front pa[...] verage, complete with photograph.

The reasons for it all are easy [...] vine. The talks with Andropov [...] longer than they would have bee[...] Brezhnev because towards the [...] Brezhnev was unable to concentra[...] any length of time.

Moreover, Moscow wanted to [...] its ways regarding the treatme[...] Bonn chancellorship candidates; [...] used to be treated rather off-hande[...]

In 1971, Rainer Barzel was rec[...] only by Prime Minister Kosygin, a[...] Helmut Kohl in 1975; and Franz [...] Strauss was regarded as being und[...] ble in 1980.

The motive behind this change [...] has to do with the fact that Ha[...] chen Vogel's visits abroad are inte[...] to promote his election campaign [...] Moscow decided to exploit this op[...] tunity.

It is not as if Moscow's relations [...] the centre-right government in [...] were bad. Foreign Minister Gro[...] was due in Bonn on 16 January, and [...] only reason he did not meet Vog[...]

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LABOUR

EEC survey spells out the social and health problems of shift work

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

[S]hift work is on the increase, an EEC survey shows, and partly due to [th]e union pressure for a shorter work-week.

[B]ut that is by no means the only [...]e, and the effects and ways of off[sett]ing them are arguably more impor[tant].

[P]eter Merkle is a typical shift worker. [His] early shift is from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., [late] shift from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and [nig]ht shift from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.

He works early one week, late the [nex]t and nights the third. He has been [on] shift work for eight years and says it [is] killer:

"Either you drink coffee by the gal[lon] or beer, otherwise you just can't [sta]nd it."

He doesn't stand much chance of [eve]r working from nine till five. Times [are] hard and shift working has definite[ly] increased in the Federal Republic of [Ge]rmany of late.

The only likelihood of a respite [wo]uld be if business grew so bad that [the] firm scrapped nights and worked [onl]y two shifts.

A survey by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and [W]orking Conditions, which was set up [by] the EEC Council of Ministers in [19]75, has taken [a c]loser look at the entire problem.

One conclusion reached is that in [19]75 forty per cent more people worked [irre]gular working hours in the Federal [Re]public than in 1960.

[T]oday nearly four million, or two [wor]kers in 10, work shifts.

A major reason for the increase is [sai]d to have been shorter working hours [for] shift workers, whose working week [wa]s 16 per cent shorter during the [peri]od reviewed.

[If] work available takes the same time [the] number of workers needed will in[crea]se accordingly. But it is unrealistic [to a]ssume that productivity has remain[ed] unchanged.

[U]sing more up-to-date machines and [imp]roved working methods production [can] be maintained at the same level [wit]h a lower payroll than 20 years ago.

[S]o shorter working weeks alone can[not] have led to an increase in the num[ber] of shift workers. Pundits nonethe[less] feel the trade unions are caught in a [...] stick.

[T]hey have advocated working less as [a m]ajor demand with a view to creating [mor]e jobs, while at the same time com[bati]ng shift work in the interest of hu[man]er working conditions.

[A]nother section of the survey shows [that] the unions have sound reasons for [cam]paigning against shift work.

[C]ompanies in all EEC countries were [surve]yed between 1977 and 1980 and the [rep]ercussions of shift work on the indi[vidu]al worker were found to be depres[sing]ly uniform.

[Q]uality of life suffers. Upsets in so[cial] and family life are inevitable. Night [shift]s twice a week, but irregularly, [mak]e it impossible to attend recurring [even]ts.

[C]ompanies that plan shifts for any [leng]th of time are advised to draw up [shift] schedules for six months at a time [to en]able staff to plan their private lives [over] a longer period.

[Y]et regardless of the arrangement, be it nights twice a week or a regular system of rotation, including weekends, shift workers can seldom regularly attend, say evening classes.

That not only prevents them from following their hobbies and interests; it also virtually rules out any prospect of further education to graduate from shift work to something better.

The family is particularly hard-hit by shift work. It must either abandon hope of normal family life or adjust to the constant changes in daily routine of the shift worker in the family.

Mention is made of shift workers' wives who reheat meals more than once to feed their husbands and children and remind the children all day to be quiet while the breadwinner is trying to catch up with some sleep after a night shift.

Many wives are critical of shift work because they feel lonely during the nights in question, because loneliness causes anxiety and because they feel a heightened responsibility for bringing up the children.

The damage shift work does is not just social; it is medical too. No-one can sleep as soundly or as undisturbedly by day as at night.

Even when shift cycles last longer the body still does not adjust to the new rhythm. Body temperature, for instance, remains lowest at night.

That means not only shortfalls in sleep and output; it also makes shift workers more susceptible to certain complaints.

The family naturally suffers from the side-effects of not getting enough sleep regularly, which are general irritability and bad humour.

So why work shifts? Firms say they need to work shifts to recoup capital invested by making the most use of plant and equipment.

But few figures are available to prove the point.

It is fairly easy to work out the wage costs of an extra shift, but other financial aspects, such as higher maintenance costs of machinery that runs 24 hours a day instead of eight, are much more difficult to assess.

One point that is never quantified is the performance shortfall during night shifts and its repercussions on the quality of goods produced.

Scientists set workers reaction tests. The number of mistakes they made increased with each successive night shift, whereas the failure rate was constant when tests were conducted during the early shift.

As for the "cost" of recovering from a night shift, that is a bill each worker pays individually. Shift workers say they spend much of their leisure time recovering from work.

More frequent sickness or early retirement cost hard cash, but the cost is met by society as a whole via health insurance and pension funds.

Companies pay their contribution toward social security schemes, but they are not in a position to assess the cost to any great extent from their balance sheets, the survey says.

So the foundation suggests setting up a health care system toward which companies contribute in relation to the use made of it by their staff.

Managements would then, it feels, be duty bound to improve medical care and working conditions; they would also be able to justify this interest to their shareholders.

The foundation is well aware that night work cannot be abolished in all walks of life, but it strongly recommends cutting it to a minimum between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m.

These are working hours for two and a half million people in the Federal Republic of Germany at any given time.

The detrimental effect of working irregular hours and its repercussions on health and social life could be partly offset, the survey says, by:

- using extra staff during shift work;
- early retirement;
- shorter working hours;
- and reducing shift work to a limited number of years in one's working life.

Michael Petersen

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 January 1983)

Job security as seen at shipyard

Not for 50 years has unemployment in Germany been as high as last November, when 2,038,000 people were registered as out of work.

The international economic crisis is taking its toll just as it did in the late-1920s when, in November 1929, unemployment in Germany first topped two million.

Up till then the political situation was still reasonably stable. In the May 1929 Reichstag elections political extremists were mere also-rans at either end of the political spectrum.

The Nazis polled only 2.6 per cent. But their support grew as unemployment spread.

By 1930 Hitler's party polled 18 per cent, and nearly one voter in three opted for either the Nazis or the Communists. In 1931 unemployment averaged four and a half million.

In the next general election, held in July 1932, the Nazis emerged as the largest party in the Reichstag. A majority of the electorate voted for either them or the Communists.

In January 1933 unemployment peaked and the Weimar Republic collapsed.

Once the Third Reich too was over and people set about rebuilding a democratic state in Germany the fear of unemployment remained very real, as sociologists showed time and again.

It was not just because unemployment was alarmingly high just after the Federal Republic of Germany was proclaimed.

Job security held pride of place over all other considerations among the working population even in the economic miracle years that followed, when unemployment declined steadily as time went by and the number of vacancies increased, heralding full employment.

A safe job outweighed everything else, including higher pay prospects. It was an expression of the desire for social security felt by those who have nothing to sell but their labour.

Job security is what they most need to be able to plan their lives and those of their families.

Even in and on the way to a booming economy it remained the linchpin of relations between gainful employment and society.

So it is surprising how slight the reaction so far to the return of unemployment has been.

In 1975, for the first time in 20 years, unemployment averaged over a million again. There was a slight improvement at the end of the 1970s but it was only temporary.

High birth-rate years are now hitting a labour market already depressed by the general economic recession. That is the position in the 1980s.

A growth rate of between five and six per cent would be needed to return to full employment. In current conditions that seems virtually inconceivable.

Coping with this particular crisis is the foremost task politicians face, and *Rationalisierung, Krise, Arbeiter*, a survey by Michael Schumann, merits special attention.

Schumann is one of Germany's leading industrial sociologists and head of the Sociological Research Institute, Göttingen.

He and his associates set out in the mid-1970s to study humanisation of the working world in the shipbuilding industry.

Their aim was to probe changes in industrial work from the viewpoint of both capital, in other words the management, and labour, both as individuals and as producers.

The brief alone is interesting enough. The reader is given a detailed analysis of approaches to rationalisation in two shipyards that sought to solve their difficulties in different ways.

There is then an intelligent look at the consequences of rationalisation from the viewpoint of shipyard workers.

Growing mastery of the production process leads to a reduction in physical and mental demands on the work force, but it also opens up unprecedented opportunities of boosting productivity.

This pressure as a rule more than offsets the advantages of the technical revolution at work. Many workers claim from experience that technical and organisational change at work runs counter to their interests.

So they do not expect much to come of policies aimed at humanising the working world.

The Göttingen sociologists probed not only the crisis of humanisation; in 1977 and 1978 they unwittingly witness-

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Michael Schumann / Edgar Einemann / Christa Siebel-Rebell / Klaus P. Wittemann: *Rationalisierung, Krise, Arbeiter, Eine empirische Untersuchung der Industrialisierung auf der Werft.* (Rationalisation, Crisis, Workers. An empirical survey of industrialisation in shipbuilding), published by Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt am Main 1982, 577pp, DM58,-.

Germany's economic expectations for 1983 are modest. This is due in part to widespread uncertainty over the outcome of the March general election, an uncertainty that is delaying investment.

Even so, a number of German firms ordered capital goods such as machinery, cranes and so on before the year's end to benefit from the ten-per-cent government investment subsidy.

But many of these orders stipulate that they can be cancelled after the March elections.

Companies that have long been operating below capacity and are in the red as a result are hanging on, hoping for better days.

Some major corporations, like Arbed Saarstahl, are kept going with government assistance.

As an experienced banker recently put it, the general election will mark the moment of truth.

It is certain that there will be more insolvencies and that more jobs will be lost if things don't improve soon.

The predictions of professional forecasters are gloomy. They all anticipate a further decline in GNP of between 0.5 and 2 per cent.

But it must be borne in mind that our starting position is extremely poor. The new Bonn government took over at a point where only the reverse gear was still operational.

The country guzzled ever more fuel in the form of public debt and sped into recession at ever-increasing speed.

Still, the overall conditions for an upturn have improved. Fiscal policy has charted the right course towards putting Federal finances back on an even keel.

Even though balancing public sector budgets, especially welfare spending, is

■ ECONOMY

Prospects promising but investors wait and see

likely to take a decade, Bonn has at least begun to restructure government spending in terms of less consumption and more investment.

The positive effects of the new fiscal policy on the money market are already in evidence.

On the other hand, the public discussion about a possible increase of the maximum rate of income tax from 56 to 60 per cent naturally dampens the prospects of an upswing.

The conservatives should stick to the recommendations they made while in opposition and provide more social and economic justice by being less chary of cutting subsidies for obsolete and no longer competitive companies and by making government benefits subject to incomes below a certain level.

Here, the reduction of child allowances marks a first, though much too timid, step. Another must is to reform the tax system as soon as possible.

A new and sustained economic upturn will depend on a lasting improvement of the framework conditions for business.

The Bonn government has already taken a few steps in the right direction aimed at revitalising the economy, reducing unemployment and balancing the budget.

But where are the politicians willing to criss-cross the country and explain the new policy to the people?

Instead of going to the people, the Bonn government keeps talking things into the ground to the point where much of what it plans becomes unintelligible to the citizen, like the liberalisation of the rent laws and relief from local taxes.

Opposition slogans like "Distributing Wealth from the Poor to the Rich" only sow uncertainty among workers and consumers. The same applies to the constant and confusing discussion about new tax rates.

Conditions for an upturn are more favourable now than they were a year ago. Interest rates have gone down markedly, helping primarily the construction industry.

Here, the long slump seems to be over as demand rises and a wide range of businesses supplying the construction industry, such as commercial vehicle makers and various artisan firms, are bound to benefit.

Cheaper money promotes investments by making them more feasible in terms of returns, the more so as the gap between returns on investments in security markets and investments in plant and equipment is shrinking.

Moreover, there is also a possibility that householders will rethink and opt for less saving and more consumption.

The deutschemark is also gaining in stability, its exchange rate against the dollar having risen by five per cent in four weeks.

This means that the bill for oil and commodity imports will go gown by several billion deutschemarks.

To enhance this still further, the Opec list price of $34 per barrel cannot be maintained and the actual price paid now is more in the region of $30 or even slightly less. Prices of heating oil and car fuel are dropping.

As things stand at the moment, the deutschemark is certain to be revalued within the European Monetary System (EMS) in weeks rather than months.

All this will have a highly positive effect on the inflation rate, which is likely to drop below four per cent in the next few months.

This low inflation rate should make it easier for the parties to collective bargaining to arrive at moderate pay deals for this year.

The pay hikes in industry could work out at about three per cent and in the public sector at around two per cent. But it is unlikely that these deals will be clinched before the 6 March election.

The fact is that moderate pay deals are more important than anything else in getting the economy back on its feet.

What is needed is a pact between economic and social common sense that must include everybody. Forgoing exaggerated demands for a short while could result in a medium- and long-term gain and full employment once more.

There is also a reasonable chance that the world recession will be overcome this year. Business seems to be on the verge of picking up in the USA and forecasts for this year speak of two- to three-per-cent growth in real terms.

This cannot fail to have positive ef-

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Poised for upswing, Bonn says

The Bonn Economic Affairs [...] thinks the economy ma[...] reached its nadir towards the [...] 1982 and is now poised for an u[...]

Both the influx of orders, [...] seen as early indicators, and th[...] rally brighter outlook of the b[...] community seem to indicate that [...] mic performance this year will [...] Ministry economists say.

Even so, the Ministry's annual [...] mic report (likely to be released [...] January) will probably fore[...] change in GNP (adjusted for in[...] against 1982.

The draft report, which seems [...] final at this stage, forecasts zero [...] for 1983 and an inflation rate of [...] four per cent. This largely co[...] with the assumptions underlyi[...] draft budget.

If the Ministry follows its [...] for the report with its project[...] growth, prices and employme[...] economic institutes will be com[...] 14 January.

This will be followed a few da[...] by separate consultations with [...] presentatives of labour and c[...] ment.

Due to his campaign comm[...] Economic Affairs Minister [...] Lambsdorff is likely to have Sta[...] retary Otto Schlecht attend the [...] his place.

A public sector economic c[...] consisting of representatives of th[...] eral, state and municipal governm[...] due to coordinate spending plans [...] January.

Due to the marked economic [...] in the third quarter of last year, [...] likely to close with a 1.5-per-cen[...] in GNP.

If no economic impulses w[...] ever were to be imparted, there [...] be a further decline of 1.2 per ce[...] year.

The assumed zero growth fo[...] therefore contains a clear grow[...] ment in the second half of the yea[...]

Ministry experts base their re[...] optimistic assessment on the mark[...] crease in industrial demand in N[...] ber.

At first it seemed as if the [...] cent increase in the influx of orde[...] entirely due to government inve[...] subsidies applying only until the e[...] 1982.

But closer analysis showed th[...] orders were not only capital good[...] consumer goods as well. They [...] from both Germany and abroad [...] were extremely wide in range.

The great unknown quantity i[...] sessing future developments i[...] March general election.

The wait-and-see attitude of [...] ment could become more pronou[...] as the results of opinion polls co[...] but even so, the Ministry holds [...] number of important indicators [...] clear improvement.

They include declining interest [...] a balanced current account, sta[...] and commodity prices and govern[...] incentives, particularly for the co[...] tion industry.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Z[...] für Deutschland, 11 Janua[...])

■ INDUSTRY

Steelmaker Willy Korf calls in receiver

[K]orf Industrie und Handel, the [...]parent company of the Korf Steel [...]up, has asked for a court receiver to [...]ect it from its creditors.

[I]n a statement released at its Baden-[...]den head office the company attri[...]ed the decision to "growing liquidity [...]ficulties that are affecting not only [...] Korf group but wide sectors of the [...]rman steel industry."

Only a few years ago, on 13 August [...]79, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Indus[...] waxed lyrical in a poem he wrote to [...]rk Willy Korf's 50th birthday.

Part of the text went roughly like this: [...]ear friend Willy, whatever your age, [...]u'll always be making steel."

A year later, when the Korf group ce[...]rated its 25th anniversary, Lothar [...]äth, Baden-Württemberg Prime Min[...]ter, said Korf's recipe for success [...]s to convert new ideas into genuine [...]vestments.

Now, Willy Korf (nicknamed Willy the Great) is making an all-out bid to salvage his empire.

Korf, a keen pilot who owns two executive jets, now has to make an emergency landing, after two decades of soaring. It is too early to tell whether he'll crash or not.

Following the parent company's application for a court receiver, Badische Stahlwerke in Kehl, one of the pillars of the empire, has now taken the same step.

It was in Kehl that Korf began his entrepreneurial career in 1950; and before long he had the established steel magnates of the Ruhr shaking in their boots.

Korf and Germany's conservative steelmakers never really saw eye to eye. He felt they were too rigid and unimaginative in their business practices. He fought them with new technologies and, above all, by undercutting their prices.

Even in the past few months, as Europe's steel industry was reeling under the impact of losses, he still managed to undercut his competitors, apparently without regard for the losses he himself sustained in the process.

Since the Korf group is privately owned and does not have to disclose its balance sheets, little is known about its actual financial position.

But putting two and two together, it would seem unlikely that he could have made much in the way of profits since 1974 when the European steel crisis set in.

All in all, his steel division seems to have sustained losses of about DM70m. On top of this there are the losses of his mechanical engineering division.

This is probably offset to some extent by profits in the lucrative plant construction business which Korf operates in partnership with Austria's state-owned Voest-Alpine. But nobody knows whether the gains here will be enough to pull the group out of the mire.

Korf, father of two, is equally fond of grand parties and grand words. Essentially a tough go-getter, he subscribes more to classical liberalism than to the social market economy.

Many a bottle of champagne is likely to have been drunk in celebration by his competitors when news was received on 7 January that Korf had to ask the court to protect him from his creditors.

The fact that this coincided with the last meeting in Düsseldorf of a government-appointed panel of three experts to hammer out a plan that would put the steel industry back on an even keel might or might not be pure chance.

Korf's golden decade was during the boom years from 1965 to 1975.

His breakthrough came in the late 1960s when he obtained the licence for a new steel production technique, the Midrex direct reduction process that made it possible to bypass costly blast furnaces in steel production.

In 1969 Korf built his first Midrex steel mill in the USA. This was followed in 1972 by a second one in Hamburg. Today, his group includes 40 plants on both sides of the Atlantic with an annual output of 20 million tons.

Since the Midrex process uses natural gas as fuel, business flourished as long as gas was cheap. But things became increasingly difficult as the price of gas rose.

In retrospect, Kuwait's 30-per-cent shareholding in the Korf group (it dates back to 1975 but did not become known until 1978) appears in a different light than as seen originally.

Korf apparently lived up to his principle of finding financiers without relinquishing control.

In any event, the group's liquid assets never really stretched far enough. If preliminary calculations are correct, the steel part of the group (excluding plant construction) owns only 13.5 per cent of its assets outright: too much to die and too little to live on.

Willy Korf (Photo: Wolf Prange)

Germany's steel industry with its payroll of 250,000 now pins its hopes on Bonn and the rescue plan to be presented by the panel of three. In all likelihood, Korf will figure in their scheme of things.

The three experts are Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen, Allianz Insurance's Marcus Bierich and Veba's Günter Vogelsang.

What has happened to Korf could happen to other steelmakers as well considering the straits in which the industry finds itself.

The crisis has lasted since 1974 and cost the steelmakers billions. And despite EEC efforts at crisis management neither prices nor sales have been right since 1980.

Last summer the situation deteriorated still further although, paradoxically, nobody really knows why.

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 January 1983)

Vogel in Moscow

Continued from page 4

[...]oscow was that he was going to talk [...]h him while in Bonn anyway.

But the treatment given to Vogel [...]akes it obvious that the Russians [...]ould prefer to see a Social Democratic [...]vernment at the helm in Bonn.

And Hans-Jochen Vogel's assurances [...] he would continue the policies of [...]ndt and Schmidt must also have [...]n pleasing to the Kremlin leaders.

[I]n addition, Vogel probably intimat[...]his preferences regarding the deploy[...]nt in Germany of the new generation [...]intermediate range US missiles.

His preference is, in a nutshell: "Re[...]tion of existing weapons rather than [...]ployment of new ones."

This sounds like a departure from [...]sident Reagan's idea of a zero op[...]n and a return to the formula Willy [...]ndt first presented during his 1981 [...]it to Moscow.

Hans-Jochen Vogel told journalists [...] he was more hopeful at the end of [...] Moscow visit than at its start. He [...]d that the visit had strengthened [...]oscow's hope that the centre-right go[...]nment in Bonn was just an interlude.

Eduard Neumaier

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 January 1983)

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[...]s on the world economy as a whole, [...]pecially as a number of other indus[...]al countries, among them Britain, [...]em to be poised for an upturn.

The vaunted collapse of the world fi[...]nce system won't materialise because [...]vernments, central banks and interna[...]nal institutions have proved now that [...]y can cope with even the trickiest of [...]es of over-indebtedness such as Bra[...], Mexico, Argentina and some East [...]oc countries.

Their rescheduling operations are a [...]jor contribution towards a global [...]nomic upturn and towards stem[...]ng protectionism, a spreading scour[...] these days.

Friedhelm Ost

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 7 January 1983)

Mannesmann's managing director Egon Overbeck, 65, is handing over to Franz Josef Weisweiler, and it sounded almost like a legacy when he told the company's last general meeting:

"Communications and information technology is a new growth industry with excellent long-term prospects. Future business success will largely depend on the speed with which major companies are prepared to invest money made elsewhere in developing this new technology and opening up markets. Mannesmann is ready for it."

Egon Overbeck will not withdraw from business completely but will continue as an ordinary member of the supervisory board (and it is a foregone conclusion that the stockholders will go along with this move).

He could, of course, also have accepted the prestige position as president of the Federation of German Industry offered to him years ago; but he has declined and is unlikely to accept the post when he goes into semi-retirement.

But the very fact that he was offered the post bears witness to the high regard in which his managerial abilities are held.

The business career of Egon Overbeck (originally a career officer who was wounded seven times in World War II and later studied business administration) began as a board member of Vereinigte Deutsche Metallwerke AG.

Mannesmann's Egon Overbeck steps down



Egon Overbeck (Photo: Sven Simon)

He was appointed chairman of the Mannesmann board in October 1962.

At that time, the top man at Mannesmann, Wilhelm Zangen, said about his concept for the new chairman: "He should be young enough to plan over a long period and to be around to make good his management mistakes."

Overbeck met this qualification in an exemplary fashion. Under his management the former coal and steel company developed into the world's largest maker of steel pipes, gearing steel production entirely to pipe requirements.

It was also under his management that Mannesmann diversified in a big way, going into plant and machinery (Demag) and hydraulics (Rexroth).

This has helped to equalise within one company the differences in performance of various branches of industry and has ensured that the 185,000 Mannesmann stockholders were paid healthy dividends.

This road is to be continued by developing Mannesmann into what can best be summed up as a technology concern.

At a point already past the zenith of his career, Overbeck went into communications and information technology by buying an additional sales potential of DM2.5bn, one-sixth of group sales.

Asked whether labour co-determination in coal and steel, which he had courage enough to criticise publicly, had hampered him, Egon Overbeck said:

"Not so far as the final results were concerned; but it would certainly have been easier to achieve these results without it."

J. Gehlhoff

(Die Welt, 10 January 1983)



■ JUSTICE

Nazi trials still pose problems

SüddeutscheZeitung

Dortmund public prosecutor Hermann Weissing, whose job is to prepare and conduct trials of Nazi war crime suspects, is not a man to be envied.

A case that has been under investigation for a quarter of a century was closed but for yet another appeal just before Christmas.

In many ways it is typical of his work. It has certainly put him as the prosecution counsel on the spot.

Wilhelm Westerheide, 73, and Johanne Zelle, 63, were accused of murder in a ghetto in the German-occupied Ukraine in 1942.

In the first court, in Bielefeld, they were found not guilty. Weissing appealed to the Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, which ordered a retrial.

At the second trial, in Dortmund, Weissing himself had to ask for the charges to be dropped because, he felt, they no longer held water.

Yet when the second court found in favour of the accused Weissing lodged a further appeal, allegedly having been advised to do so by the Justice Ministry and the Foreign Office.

He is perfectly at home in the legal routine such cases involve, but the proceedings against Herr Westerheide and Frau Zelle have given him no joy whatever.

In his job he often has the feeling that someone who is definitely guilty has got off scot-free. "It was him alright," he thinks.

But he reminds himself that sentiments such as this were nine points of the law in the Third Reich and it is infinitely better to abide by the law as it stands.

Even so, there are times such as during the case under review when, after months of evidence and cross-examination, he reluctantly sees no alternative but to call for the charges to be dropped.

Charges were preferred against Westerheide and Zelle over 20 years ago but, as seems to be the rule in Nazi war crimes trials, it took unaccountably long for proceedings to get under way.

They were not tried until 1979, when they were found not guilty by a Bielefeld court. As prosecution counsel Herr Weissing had called for life imprisonment for them both.

He felt sure he had a clear case that the accused were responsible for the murder of thousands of Jews in Vladimir Volynsk in 1942.

Westerheide, he was convinced, had shot two Jews personally, while Fräulein Hanne, as his secretary was known at the time, had killed a child of two singlehandedly.

She had tied its feet together and smashed its little body head-first against a wall.

The Bielefeld court heard nearly 100 witnesses to gain a clearer idea of what life had been like in Vladimir Volynsk under Nazi occupation.

Westerheide as regional commissioner and head of the civil administration was "both God and the Tsar," as a Russian witness put it.

Wherever he appeared, on horseback, he spread a feeling of horror. One survivor is on record as having told Israeli officials that Westerheide personally distinguished between two categories of Jews, the useless and the specialists.

He made the selection himself and ensured that the ghetto of the useless Jews was destroyed first. Fräulein Hanne lent a hand, always brandishing a whip when visiting the ghetto.

Observers felt the Bielefeld verdict was a disgrace. Herr Weissing must have done too; he appealed to Karlsruhe for a retrial.

Seldom has the Supreme Court so frankly accused a lower court of negligence. It ruled that the Bielefeld court had not even clarified whether the Jews mentioned by the prosecution had in fact been killed.

Some of the court's findings were felt to be so unrealistic and improbable as not to be worth considering.

The Bielefeld bench had held, for instance, that although Westerheide had shouted and gesticulated wildly while the ghetto-dwellers were being rounded up for extermination he might have done so for reasons that had no bearing on the offence of which he was accused.

He might, the court found, merely have been trying to make himself out to be important.

Herr Weissing is gratified that Karlsruhe agreed that a retrial was essential. It was held in Dortmund and lasted eight months.

When the case ended, just before Christmas, the accused had not spent a single day on remand and Weissing himself had called for the charges to be dropped.

Important witnesses had died. Others were no longer prepared to appear in the box. Others were felt by the court, and the prosecution, to have contradicted themselves.

Grave contradictions

Weissing felt crucial evidence no longer rang true even though the witnesses were keen to tell the truth. Two witnesses, he was convinced, were not reliable.

Grave contradictions came to light in connection with the murdered child. It was certainly murdered. Its death was seen by three witnesses, but seems likely to go unatoned.

Other public prosecutors don't envy Weissing his job. Some suspect he is "under orders" to lodge an appeal against the Dortmund findings.

The case is said to have prompted interest in high quarters, at the Justice Ministry and the Foreign Office.

Herr Weissing says the decision to appeal was his. He has yet to make a written submission but says that the court finding the accused not guilty on his recommendation could only be "most superficially" be regarded as a success.

He seems to hope there may turn out to have been procedural errors.

A Foreign Office connection seems more than likely now that Israel's Foreign Minister, Moshe Nessim, has told Knesset MP Shevach Weiss the state of Israel is in a position to supply further documents and witnesses.

The claim that the evidence was insufficient for a conviction seems to rest on shaky foundations.

Gerd Kröncke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 January 1983)

Call for *Volksgerichtshof* sentences to be voided

An SPD bid to have sentences passed by the Nazi *Volksgerichtshof*, or People's Court, declared null and void has been rejected by Bonn Justice Minister Hans Engelhard.

Herr Engelhard, a Free Democrat, argues that such a drastic step is unnecessary, although the Berlin court undeniably passed disgraceful sentences.

In 1943 a woman was sentenced to death for telling a joke. She worked as a draftsman and had told the joke to a solitary workmate.

Hitler and Goering, the joke ran, were on the top of the Berlin Radio Tower. When the Führer said he would like to give the people of Berlin pleasure Goering said: "Why not jump?"

This feeble joke, along with having told several Czech workers to split up and not form a group in public, took her to the guillotine.

It was only one of many pointless death sentences passed by a court that is back in the news now the Social Democrats have called for its sentences to be declared null and void.

Forget about the law, Goebbels told the *Volksgerichtshof* in 1942. What matters is the decision that the man must go.

That was exactly what the court was set up to do. Its role was to destroy opponents of the Nazi regime, and specially selected judges were appointed to ensure this was done.

Roland Freisler, the court's second chief justice, said its sentences were a constant process of national self-cleansing.

He was particularly keen on cleanliness. During his tenure, from 1942 to 1944, the number of death sentences increased drastically.

Judge Thierack, his predecessor, had passed between 32 and 102 death sentences a year. Freisler's count was between 1,192 and 2,097.

In 1944 death sentences were handed out in nearly one case in two.

The court was set up in 1934 because the Nazis were irked at the Reich Supreme Court finding four alleged Reichstag arsonists not guilty for lack of proof.

One might have expected the SPD motion to have been welcomed in Bonn, but Justice Minister Engelhard ruled out the idea of declaring all *Volksgerichtshof* sentences null and void.

He said that in 1946 or 1947 they had either been declared null and void or repealed on application.

If the Bundestag were to declare sentences null and void now it would convey the impression that the Federal Republic of Germany had done nothing about them for over 30 years.

The Social Democrats fear this is exactly what has happened. In some cases, says SPD Bundestag member Gernot Fischer, applications were not made.

The Justice Ministry claims not a single *Volksgerichtshof* sentence is still valid.

But this is not the point. The issue at stake involves one of the darkest aspects of post-war legal history in Germany.

If all sentences by the court were declared null and void the *Volksgerichtshof* would no longer qualify as a bona fide court and its judges would [...] to criminal proceedings.

Fifty-two of the 574 jud[...] known still to be alive, aged be[...] and 82, and they are still entit[...] bench's privilege.

They and the public prosec[...] virtually safe from prosecution [...] judges as a result of a highly co[...] sial ruling by the Karlsruhe [...] Court in 1968.

It was given in connectio[...] Hans-Jürgen Rehse, a *Volksge*[...] judge who passed 231 death se[...] Karlsruhe said the Nazi court [...] gular court that passed sentenc[...] cordance with the law as it sto[...] time.

This meant that the accuse[...] only be brought to book for del[...] disregarding the law and advo[...] passing a death sentence again[...] knowledge and for ulterior moti[...]

Rehse was found not guilty [...] a year later during the appeal [...] ings.

After this problematic ruling [...] Federal Supreme Court the Be[...] secutors lost heart and decide [...] to prefer charges against forme[...] *gerichtshof* judges.

How could a judge be shown [...] have felt his judgment was righ[...] time? Besides, only murder ca[...] counted. The statute of limitatio[...] applied to homicide since 1960.

The Karlsruhe ruling and the[...] tion felt by public prosecutors h[...] had a fateful repercussion.

West German courts have [...] judgment in 6,115 cases of Na[...] war crimes, but not a single me[...] the *Volksgerichtshof* has been s[...] ed.

Most former court officials hav[...] normal lives and carried on in th[...] profession, some as leading lawy[...] members of the bench.

In October 1979 the Berlin [...] prosecutor's office was order[...] resume investigations by West [...] Justice Senator Gerhard M. Me[...] Free Democrat.

It will be some years before [...] facts are available to prefer ch[...] and it remains to be seen whethe[...] ges are preferred and sentences p[...]

If it were up to the Bonn Justi[...] nistry the prospects would be [...] Herr Engelhard says he has no [...] tion of condemning the work o[...] *Volksgerichtshof* out of hand.

The Court passed sentences [...] guilty in some cases and in other[...] judgments in strict accordance [...] constitutional principles, says [...] Hugo Klein, parliamentary state [...] tary to the Ministry.

This is a dubious line of argu[...] Can an institution that is under po[...] orders to pass death sentences [...] whose carefully selected and polit[...] motivated judges passed death se[...] ces in assembly line fashion also [...] independent court and issue verdi[...] accordance with constitutional p[...] ples?

No it can't, says the SPD, but th[...] cial Democrats, like the other p[...] have shown scant interest in the s[...] for decades, only now taking it up.

Jürn G. Praet[...]

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 8 Janua[...])



SHIPBUILDING

Workers are worried in an ailing industry



[...]loom-laden graffiti such as "The End is Nigh" line the wall of [...]e staircase to the works council's [...]ird-floor office at the Howaldtswerke-[...]utsche Werft (HDW) shipyards in [...]amburg.

Works council chairman Holger [...]ahler, who was expelled by the trade [...]ion, IG Metall, just over a year ago [...]r running against official candidates [...] protest in the 1981 works council [...]ections, says morale is low.

[...]n the fitters' workshops, the repair [...]ops and the boilermakers' workshops [...]e men are just not sure where they [...]and.

Many have been on short shifts for [...]me time, and that isn't all that has [...]t families reeling, Mahler says. They [...]so miss the overtime pay that used to [...]able them to make ends meet.

Being hard-up now worries them less [...]an prospects for the yard's future. [...]e new managing director, Claus [...]lers, is shortly to submit to the super-[...]ory board a new concept for the [...]amburg and Kiel shipyards.

Herr Ahlers took over at the HDW [...]elm from Norbert Henke, who had [...]tle joy in Hamburg and has now, [...]dly enough, been entrusted with [...]eamlining operations at the Vulkan [...]ipyard in Bremen.

The Hamburg works council does not [...]ow the details of Herr Ahlers' plans [...]t is worried that HDW's Hamburg [...]d will be hardest-hit.

There are rumours that 2,000 men [...]oth salary- and wage-earners) are to [...] sacked and shipbuilding operations [...]ut down entirely in Hamburg.

No more new ships would be built, [...] repairs. "But a repair shop [...]nly," says Otto vom Steeg, IG Metall's [...]gional secretary, "would not survive [...]f any length of time."

Politicians promise everything will be [...]one to ensure that new ships continue [...]be built in Hamburg. HDW shipyard [...]orkers have long grown mistrustful of [...]ch assurances.

The Bonn government and [...]leswig-Holstein merged Howaldts-[...]rke in Kiel and Deutsche Werft in [...]amburg in the late 1960s.

Together they were the largest ship-[...]ilding group in the country, and wor-[...]s still believed promises of a golden [...] for the industry.

Not long afterwards the Finkenwer-[...]r shipyard in Hamburg was shut [...]own. People continued to hope, al-[...]ough many were unhappy and unea-[...]

Company policy seemed promising [...]en though the oil crisis was followed [...]a crisis in the shipbuilding industry.

But instead, from the mid-1970s, [...]DW went steadily downhill, interrupt-[...] only by small spurts of better busi-[...]ss. The company exhausted reserves.

The only expectations exceeded were [...]t losses were far heavier than expect-[...] In the past four years they have to-[...]lled several hundred million marks.

What progressively upset people in [...]amburg was that activities were in-[...]easingly concentrated in Kiel. HDW Hamburg used to have a payroll of 11,000; only 4,670 remain.

Kiel used to employ 9,885, of which 7,257 still exist. New ships are now built virtually only in Kiel, with increasing emphasis on warships, as is the case in all major shipyards.

The closure of Finkenwerder was followed by that of the Reiherstieg yard. Only the Ross yard is still going in Hamburg.

It is building a single new ship that is due for completion in June. An off-shore module is also being built, ordered by a Danish company.

But that is it. Otherwise orders consist of repairs, and not even anything spectacular by way of a refit. The workers are worried.

They are worried at all major shipyards, at Blohm & Voss in Hamburg and at Vulkan in Bremen, where shareholders have been asked to write off a percentage of their capital holding to keep the company going.

Prospects look just as gloomy at AG Weser in Bremen and Thyssen in Emden. At several yards there have been protest strikes against rationalisation plans.

North German shipyard workers were strongly represented at the big trade union demonstrations against Bonn economy measures.

Well they might. Hopes that the world economy would recover in the early-1980s, and with it shipping and shipbuilding, have been dashed. The opposite is the case.

In tankers, for instance, there are over 100 million tons surplus to demand. About 80 million tons have been put out to graze, many being scrapped.

The situation is little better among bulk freighters, where about a third of tonnage is superfluous. Here too ships are being put out to graze in the hope of better days to come.

International shipbuilding conditions are unchanged, with low-wage or heavily-subsidised yards continuing to build ships more cheaply.



Shipyard workers on the march against the threat of further redundancies

(Photo: dpa)

German shipowners are ordering new ships from Japan or South Korea.

Smaller and medium-sized German yards have done better, and some have fared well. They include Nobiskrug in Rendsburg, Sietas in Hamburg and Harmstorf in Flensburg.

In Flensburg the largest workshop in Germany and the most up-to-date in Europe is under construction.

These smaller yards have as a rule specialised and developed technology with which other countries are unable to compete to any great extent.

Only one of the leading companies, Blohm & Voss in Hamburg, has really tried to cater for civil demand other than shipbuilding to any degree.

Blohm & Voss have tried hard to sell off-shore engineering, but otherwise the emphasis has been on military orders, as ever.

Blohm & Voss built the Seydlitz for the Kaiser's navy, the Bismarck for Nazi Germany, and now specialises in tank shells, military containers and frigates for the Argentinians and the Bundesmarine.

This is unlikely to be enough to keep the yard in business, quite apart from the political difficulties that can arise from specialising in military orders.

The situation is so alarming that politicians have begun to wake up and are eyeing each other with suspicion.

Mayor Koschnick of Bremen has written to Mayor von Dohnanyi of Hamburg, who in his turn has written to Prime Minister Barschel of Schleswig-Holstein, who has just ploughed DM180m into shipbuilding in his state.

The Lower Saxon Economic Affairs Minister, Birgit Breuel, feels that if states go it alone they will run a risk of ruinous competition, outdoing each other in subsidies.

She has invited the others to Hanover for talks, much to the annoyance of Hamburg's Klaus von Dohnanyi as the four northern states were due to confer early this year in any case.

Shipbuilding management and the trade unions are thinking over the future too. Both envisage government subsidies playing a leading role, at least for a transitional period.

But there is no indication of what is to happen after the transition and where the alternatives lie when the steel industry is down in the dumps too.

Redundancies, the unions say, are not the answer. But unless something good happens soon, workers in shipbuilding and allied trades are going to have to continue fearing the worst.

Karsten Plog

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 January 1983)

Job security

Continued from page 5

ed a shipbuilding crisis in the wake of the tanker boom's collapse.

The final section of the book deals with shipyard workers' reactions to redundancies and the shipbuilding crisis as a foretaste of current problems and problems to come.

It used to be widely held that full employment and a steady increase in earnings had made people insistent on earning more and more.

This outlook alone kept the political system going, as the emergence of the neo-Nazi National Democrats in the mid-1960s recession was felt to demonstrate.

But such fears were found to be baseless. Workers were both earning more in real terms and could rely on a wide range of social security provisions.

So they felt able to take a fairly relaxed view of the crisis. At least as far as the shipbuilding industry was concerned the state was felt to be capable of and responsible for coping with the difficulties.

The solutions to the crisis as suggested seldom amounted to criticism of the system. They came mostly in the welfare, but free-market economy, shot-in-the-arm category.

But they were accompanied by a number of strongly authoritarian and nationalist undertones, such as the sentiment that shirkers should be brought to book, foreign workers should be deported and development aid should be scrapped.

It was still generally felt that those who wanted to find a job could do so, so when times were hard all one needed to do was to tighten the belt a notch or two.

Unemployment was not felt to be a serious threat, although everyone realised it could be their turn next and it was always ordinary people who had to bear the brunt.

But strikes were not felt to be of any use in ensuring full order books and continued employment.

Caution is called for, as the authors note. The shipyard crisis was fairly limited, taking place against the background of a mainly healthy economy.

Current difficulties, and still less those that lie ahead, no longer allow of trouble-shooting on such a large scale in an individual instance.

It is no longer true to say that those who want to find work can do so.

But the Göttingen survey enables us to state more precisely the crucial question on the domestic front, which is the extent to which workers will be prepared to make sacrifices to help solve economic problems.

The answer seems to be that workers will be prepared to lend a hand provided the political system proves dependable and makes its contribution too.

Once social safeguards and the welfare state are deliberately subjected to ruthless cuts for the sake of some kind of order the fund of goodwill will soon be exhausted.

In the 1980s the state is unlikely to be able to do much about unemployment, but in the circumstances it holds a grave responsibility for keeping the social peace.

Ludwig von Friedeburg

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 January 1983)

Where is Antigone?" asks Ismene. "She couldn't come," she is told. "She has to swot for a maths exam."

Without Antigone Ismene cannot rehearse their scene, so she retires to a corner of the gym and settles down to a chapter of her physics textbook.

Instead of Scene 9 pupils at a Limburg *Gymnasium*, or high school, rehearse Scene 10 of Sophocles' *Antigone*.

Creon, self-assuredly for an 18-year-old, says his piece:

"Compliance, indulgence, leads to anarchy, the worst of all evils. States are dissolved, families break up, ranks of warriors are broken. That is why we must support the man who establishes and maintains order."

Haimon, speaking an unmistakable Hesse dialect, replies:

"That would be the solution if someone were naturally omniscient and always just. But there is no such person. It takes the balanced judgment of many well-meaning people to arrive at a sound viewpoint."

Heinz Böhlen, the school's German teacher, first corrects the broader slips of local dialect then tells everyone to scale down the pathos.

In all other respects he leaves it to the pupils themselves to interpret the parts they play. It is up to them to develop them as rehearsals progress.

The only direct influence he exerts is in discussing with the entire cast the ideas behind the plot: the dangers faced by the state and the relationship between the state and the law.

They suddenly realise how very topical the issues still are.

Very occasionally Dr Böhlen himself acts a short passage. He is no longer a young man, and he is badly disabled, but on stage he bears witness to unsuspected agility.

And despite letting his cast work it out for themselves he is a strict and exacting director.

"The School Theatre," he says, "cannot make do with the more-or-less or the well-meaning. It must develop a high degree of perfection before it faces the public.

"A group that wants to perform a complete dramatic work on the stage cannot be content with boundless enthusiasm; it must be prepared to put in hard work, effort and ability."

Amateur dramatics are part of life at many schools. Several hundred take part in the annual schools theatre festival in West Berlin.

■ EDUCATION

Life learnt on stage and not just in books

Most productions are by high schools, but there are also entries from other secondary schools and there must be many more.

Schools theatre is currently gaining in popularity, having been neglected for several years until the loss grew glaringly apparent.

Regardless of the trend there have always been schools where amateur theatricals formed part of the curriculum. The Rudolf Steiner schools are but one example.

The Limburg group is an old stager, having been run at the school in its present form for just over 30 years.

There have usually been two productions a year, plus plays read and recitals to music. Members of the cast continually change; there have been over 600 over the years.

This number does not include entire classes that take part in a number of productions, either as extras or as choirs.

But this constant change need not mean that a company has to dispense with continuity in its work.

Many a pupil has embarked on a theatrical career as a 12- or 13-year-old ticket seller, then played walk-on or bit parts, finally to star in a leading role.

Leaving school has not invariably meant curtains. Many an old boy or girl keeps in touch and still takes part in activities, either regularly or occasionally.

This continuity is unthinkable without the support of a hard-working producer in charge of activities over the years.

He must be a teacher who is unperturbed by difficulties of one kind and another. Many a teacher has launched a theatrical group, then given up when difficulties seemed overwhelming.

Headmasters and other members of staff have been known to have little sympathy. Music and art teachers have refused to lend a hand.

There can be trouble with the stage, with costumes and backdrops and with general organisation.

Such problems have not deterred Heinz Böhlen in Limburg. He read literature and drama at university and wrote his PhD on the commedia dell'arte.

Then, 30 years ago, he launched his school theatre group as a young schoolmaster. With energy and perseverance he has kept it going all these years.

The group is well-known in Limburg and even in its French twin town of Sainte-Foy-lès-Lyon. It is an established part of the cultural scene.

Its productions are seen not only by pupils and their parents but also by many local theatre-lovers.

Audiences regularly include state politicians, the burgomaster, the *Landrat* (a local government official) and the bishop.

Some productions have been seen by as many as 2,000 people.

The summer production is usually a comedy, preferably a play suitable for open-air performance against the background of the town's picturesque *Altstadt* or in the castle courtyard near the cathedral.

In spring a more serious play, often laden with contemporary criticism, is performed either at the school or in municipal halls.

The plays that have been put on are too numerous to mention, but playwrights have included Schiller, Kleist, Claudel, Camus, Wilder, Goethe, Brecht, Frisch, Goldoni, Eichendorff, Queneau, Mayakovsky, Tardieu, Marlowe, Ionesco and, at regular intervals, Shakespeare.

Productions have also included work written by the pupils themselves.

Titles are chosen in view of a wide range of criteria. At times events in the news suggest a specific play, such as Camus' *A State of Siege*, after the 1956 Hungarian uprising.

The choice is often made by the cast who are available. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* was an obvious choice when there were two sets of twins at the school, especially as both were keen to take part.

Not always is the available cast so large as to enable Dr Böhlen to consider putting on, say, Pavel Kohout's *Around the World in 80 Days*.

It is a play with about 90 parts and was finally staged in 1978.

As a matter of principle the ch[...] play is guided by what young [...] are capable of doing. Says Dr Bö[...]

"The School Theatre canno[...] plays based on characters and c[...] that result from the character [...] leading role."

As a rule young people can on[...] stereotypes, or at least parts th[...] more or less straightforward.

On stage the laws of the thea[...] strictly enforced. Speech and [...] movement and coordination nee[...] ful supervision.

Yet the Limburg group has no [...] tions to compete with professional [...] tre. It does not see itself as a nurs[...] the professional stage either.

Obviously pupils who are g[...] amateur theatricals fancy the [...] becoming actors. But Dr Böhlen [...] ly advises them against the idea.

He tells them in no uncertain [...] how poor the career prospects a[...] to mention how little money is [...] earned in acting.

Yet a number of his former p[...] have gone on to become actors [...] rectors at German theatres or on [...] and TV, he proudly admits.

But in principle he suspects [...] would have done so in any cas[...] does not really rate their careers [...] any way due to his work.

Schools theatre, he once wrot[...] *festschrift*, is a area alongside [...] art, woodwork and metalwork [...] at school, which is normally com[...] with purely cognitive accumula[...] knowledge.

The representational arts, be [...] part of lessons at all levels of sch[...] or a special subject with artistic [...] tions, have an important creativ[...] educational part to play.

They can help the individual to [...] freedom from himself. They can s[...] late his faculty of creative imagi[...] They can help him to develop his p[...] nality.

Playing alongside others he pra[...] being part of a community, learni[...] sideration for and tolerance to[...] others and develops world topic[...] artistic yardsticks in coming to [...] with artistic work.

To paraphase the title of an ess[...] the German classical dramatist [...] poet Friedrich von Schiller, Dr Bö[...] sees the school stage as an educa[...] institution.

Bernd Erich Hep[...]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[...] für Deutschland, 5 Janua[...])

Continued from page 11

and Reich, the liberation of spiritual and secular life from church tutelage and the dawning of the Modern Age.

The celebrations commemorating the anniversary of Luther's birth are ecumenically meaningful even in our age; yet it would be out of keeping with this age to put him on a pedestal.

The celebrations of the Lutheran churches in Germany will concentrate on the ecumenical idea.

Even Catholic theologians no longer regard Luther's teachings as an element that divides the churches. This approach was spearheaded by the Catholic ecclesiastical historian Joseph Lortz (1887-1975).

The most important thing will be to promote the ecumenical drive and for the churches to use those of Luther's ideas that remain relevant today in the service of society.

Almut Krüger

(Nordwest Zeitung, 31 December 1982)

School as seen by students

Brigitte Hassio, a Heidelberg teacher, has compiled a book about school as pupils see it. Entitled *Schüler. Zur Schule. Über die Schule*, it is published by Beltz Verlag, Weinheim and Basle, at DM6.80.

Writer Arnfried Astel put the position aptly when he wrote the following epithet:

"Justified question asked of his teacher by a pupil willing to learn: 'How can I learn what you know without becoming the way you are?'"

There is very little that has not been said and written about school. Problems such as the shortage of teachers, the comprehensive school, migrant workers' children, dyslexia and so on are constantly discussed.

Scientists probe them. Politicians discuss them. The media examine them from all angles.

But all too often not enough attention is paid to the people directly concerned, the pupils themselves.

The debate is conducted over their heads. They are expected to keep quiet and allow themselves to be treated as guinea pigs.

Ordinary everyday lessons no longer seem to interest educational officials and reformers.

Frau Hassio takes a closer look at this aspect, and it is well worth considering.

Her choice of comments, by pupils, teachers and writers, was made without educational intent, but she clearly shows there is unrest at the grass roots.

Little, or no, attention is paid to pupils' personal interests and wishes in class. Regarded merely as brains w[...] filled, they often have no options [...] than joyless conformity or defia[...] bellion.

Teachers are fast worn out by [...] constant refusal of their pupils to [...] perate and often serve as targets [...] hatred and pent-up aggression.

These are the result of demands [...] performance and achievement in w[...] the pupils see no point.

Why should they bother swot[...] when they aren't going to be able to [...] the job they want? They are worried [...] exams, especially the final school-l[...] ing exam, the *Abitur*.

They are afraid of being dismissed [...] failures, upset by the problems [...] puberty or worried they might be p[...] ished for making critical comments.

Frau Hassio's collection of comm[...] makes alarming reading.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 January [...])

HEALTH

Artificial hand restores 'all but sense of touch'



[...]rtificial limbs have come a long way since Götz von Berlichingen's [...] hand, a marvel of technology 400 [...]rs ago and still to be seen at the [...]z von Berlichingen Museum in Jagst[...]sen.

[...]eople who today have the misfor[...]ne to lose a hand don't have to belong [...] the privileged classes to be fitted with [...]e artificial replacement.

[...]hey may be lucky enough to get the [...]aptive' hand recently presented to [...] Press by manufacturers Grau Fein[...]ktechnik of Böhmenkirch.

[...]he new device, now ready to go into [...]oduction, is the result of years of coo[...]ation with the Aalen Technical Col[...]e.

Like its 400-year-old counterpart in [...]gsthausen, the new artificial hand has [...] fingers and looks very much like [...] real thing.

What's more, the patient needs very [...] practice before being able to use it [...] a normal hand, performing even [...]h tricky feats as pouring liquid from [...] bottle into a glass.

Götz von Berlichingen's iron hand [...] a passive member, meaning that the [...]er hand had to be used to put it in [...]e right position.

[...]he new adaptive hand, on the other [...]d, is controlled by electrical impul[...] transmitted from the brain.

[...]t uses the same signals the brain [...]smits to the muscles of natural [...]bs, making them move as required.

[...]e new hand uses electrodes attach[...] to the stump of the arm to pick up [...]als from the brain.

[...]hese signals are then filtered and [...]plified and used to drive two electric [...]tors in the artificial hand.

[...]n intricate system of pulleys then [...]ves the fingers, making them per[...]m with unprecedented exactitude.

[...]t all looks so simple and the result is [...] much like a normal hand, weighing [...] same and performing the same [...]vements, as to make anybody who [...]s it wonder why it has only come [...]ut in the last few months.

[...]or one, the new hand is based on [...]nologies that were unavailable only [...]w years ago and, for another, the [...]an hand is much more complicated [...]n is generally assumed.

[...]t would take more than 20 built-in [...]ors to reproduce all the movements [...] capable of.

[...]onventional artificial limbs try to [...]roduce only the most simple and es[...]tial movements such as grasping, [...]sporting and releasing an object.

[...]ut even this is much more compli[...]ed than it seems. Take grasping. [...]at is needed is not the grasp of a [...]r of pliers but a grasp moulded to [...] shape of the object to be held; firm [...]ugh not to drop it while at the same [...]e being gentle enough not to damage [...]

[...]hat matters therefore is a grasp that [...] the object and is thus adaptive, as [...] makers of the new hand call it.

[...]he idea of using electrical impulses [...] control an artificial limb dates back [...] the 1940s.

The most obvious approach is to use the electric impulses generated by muscle contractions and to pick them up through electrodes.

The strength of the electrical impulses thus generated corresponds to the strength and the speed of the muscle movement.

The main problem to be overcome lay in the fact that the amount of electricity thus produced was minimal and had to be amplified at an enormous rate if it was to be sufficient to drive the motors.

This rate of amplification, unthinkable 35 years ago, has now become reality.

The entire electronic system in the new limb through which the bioelectrical signals are processed and boosted 40,000-fold has been miniaturised to the point where it will fit into the artificial limb together with the two propulsion units.

One of the two motors is used to move the thumb while the other operates the remaining four fingers.

The energy for the electronic system is provided by a set of batteries carried in a belt around the upper arm. Assuming a consumption of 0.45 milliwatts, a set of batteries is good for about five days.

The hand uses the strongest electrical signals to be obtained from the stump to control movement. They are the signals transmitted to the muscles responsible for the movement of the wrist and the pinkie.

Initially, the patient has to make a conscious effort to think of the movement he wants the artificial hand to perform.



Götz von Berlichingen's 16th century iron hand was manually operated: he used his good hand to move fingers or clench his iron fist. (Photo: Historia)

But after a relatively short time this becomes so much second nature as to enable him to move the artificial hand spontaneously and naturally. Once this has been learned, there is no need for any further training.

Another important and desirable element is the sense of touch in an artificial hand.

The patient should be aware of the degree of firmness with which he wants the hand to grasp an object because he would otherwise experience only success or failure of a desired movement.

This is one aspect that still has to be perfected.

Experiments now in progress use vibrators that report the firmness and strength of a grip. Another approach is to extend the natural nerves in the stump to the point where they can be led to the artificial fingers.

But this has been unsuccessful so far due to such undesirable side effects as skin irritations. Moreover, the extension of the nerves calls for surgery and always entails the danger that the body will reject foreign matter.

Manufacturers thus still have a long way to go before they can come up with a viable solution to the sense of touch.

But in all mechanical aspects, the new type of artificial limb is close to perfection and has proved its worth with a wide variety of patients such as war casualties, the victims of industrial accidents and people with deformities from birth.

It has even been tested in such extreme cases as with racing drivers. But the most telling proof of its success lies in the fact that, once fitted with it, patients no longer want to be without it.

One of the much lauded features of the new device is its "good looks" and the fact that it can easily pass for the real thing.

The adaptive hand is to go into assembly line production soon and there can be little doubt as to the demand for it. In Germany alone, there are 40,000 people without one or both hands.

Felix Weber/df

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 January 1983)

Electric shock accident rate down

Electric shock does not kill instantly. Victims who seem to be dead are still alive and can be saved by instant first aid, though this must be administered within a maximum of three to five minutes.

It is therefore essential that laymen should be able to provide first aid pending the arrival of a doctor, Professor Rudolf Hauf of the Freiburg Research Centre for Electropathology suggested at the 46th Annual Congress in Berlin of the German Society for Emergency Medicine.

Though only one per cent of fatal accidents are due to electric shock, the fatality rate of those involved in such an accident tops the list with seven per cent.

In the Federal Republic of Germany alone there are some 400 fatal electric shock accidents a year. About one-quarter of them occur at home, and of these 15 per cent involve children under the age of nine.

The remaining accidents of this nature occur in industry.

About two-thirds of the fatalities in low-voltage accidents (up to 1,000 volts) die of heart chamber fibrillation and the remaining third of cardiac arrest, Professor Hauf told the congress.

Due to the high ratio of fibrillation, an emergency doctor should be summoned instantly because his equipment invariably includes a defibrillator.

Professor Ernst Baur of Lucerne dealt with high voltage accidents where severe burns are the rule.

Though the skin might frequently appear unaffected, the muscles through which the electric current flows are frequently "roasted" in such accidents.

Unless this is diagnosed in hospital, Professor Baur said, death can occur three to four days after the accident primarily due to toxic matter that accumulates in the destroyed muscles.

Statistically, the number of electric shock accidents has remained constant these past few years.

Professor Baur interprets this as a good sign considering that the number of electrical appliances in the home and machinery in industry has increased enormously.

He attributed the stagnating accident figures to better accident prevention at home and at work.

Professors Siegfried Borelli, Hans Düngemann (both of Munich) and Stefan Perren (Davos) dealt with allergic reactions to sutures, bandaging, prostheses made of metal, ceramic or plastic plus drugs used in anaesthetics and disinfectants.

Since allergies can lead to fatal shock they suggested that the greatest of care be exercised in emergency wards.

Usually, allergies exist before a patient is brought to the emergency ward. In West Germany, for instance, one in ten people suffer from an allergy of one kind or another.

What happens in hospitals is simply that people suffering from chronic allergies suddenly receive an acute allergic shock.

The remedy suggested at the congress was an early diagnosis of allergies in cases of particularly allergy-prone patients.

This applies particularly to those cases where the accident victim is known to have an allergy (as in cases where this is noted in the ID card).

The four-day congress was attended by more than 900 doctors specialising in a wide variety of fields.

In his closing address, the president of the German Society for Emergency Medicine, Professor Jürgen Probst (Murnau), told the congress that the surgeons in charge of emergency wards are increasingly realising the necessity of consulting other specialists (such as urologists, gynaecologists, microsurgeons, internists and allergy experts) in their bid to cope with problem cases.

Even so, the main responsibility rests with the ward surgeon, who has to make on-the-spot decisions. Naturally, this entails the risk of opting for a wrong course of action from the very beginning.

Dieter Dietrich

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 January 1983)

